Weekly National Intelligencer.

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THE WEEKLY NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

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COMMITTEE ON A COMPROMISE.

IN SENATE, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 13, 1850. The VICE PRESIDENT. The time having arrived for the special order of the day, the Senate will now proceed to the consideration of the resolutions of the Senator from Tenessee, which the Senator from Mississippi has moved to refer

nessee, which the Senator from Mississippi has moved to refer to a select committee of thirteen.

Mr. BERRIEN. As I understand the resolution now presented on the motion of the Senator from Mississippi, it does not specify the resolutions which are to be referred.

Mr. FOOTE. I did specify them in my motion.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will recollect, that the resolutions of the Senator from Tennessee were under consideration when the motion was made by the Senator from Mississippi to refer them.

from Mississippi to refer them.

Mr. BALDWIN. I desire to offer an amendment, as

"Except the sixth resolution, which is referred to the Committee on Territories, with instructions to report a bill in conformity with said resolution."

The sixth resolution is in these words:

Resolved, That the constitution recently formed by the people of the western portion of California, and presented to Congress by the President on the 13th day of February, 1850, be accepted, and that they be admitted into the Union as a State upon an equal footing in all respects with the original States.

Mr. BENTON. My mind has been directed to the same was for proposing an amendment in the same terms, but I afterwards thought, for the purpose of making all sure, and of keeping the question of the admission of California wholly unmixed with every thing that is going on here in connexion with the subject of slavery, it would be preferable to offer the

amondment in this shape:

"But nothing in this resolution shall be construed to authorize the said committee to take into consideration any thing which relates to the admission of the State of California into the Union."

The VICE PRESIDENT. Will the Senator from Con-

necticut accept that amendment?

Mr. BALDWIN. I accept it, sir.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution of the Senator from Connecticut is modified as follows—
Mr. CASS. Mr. President—

Mr. WEBSTER. Will the member from Michigan permit me to say a word or two.

Mr. CASS. Certainly.
Mr. WEBSTER. The distinguished member from Michigan (Mr. Cass) is kind enough to allow me an opportunity of saying that I have no desire to oppose this resolution of the honorable member from Mississippi, if any body thinks it necessary, or would be useful. But, from what I have seen, om what we have all seen and heard, within the last th, my own persuasion is that no benefit is likely to arise from any attempt to draw up a series of resolutions for the settlement of all the questions now in agitation. I see no hope that such a series of resolutions would pass the two Houses of Congress. At the close of my remarks, on Thursday, I signified that I should take an opportunity, as early as might be convenient, consistently with the rights of others, to say what I had to say on the subject immediately embraced by the resolution of the chairman of the Committee on the Territories, (Mr. Douglas,) and the amendment proposed to it by the honorable member from Missouri, (Mr. Benton.) Upon the direct subject of the admission of California, under the circumstances, I have not a particle of doubt. I am clear proceeding efficiently, is to keep that measure separate; and I am prepared to vote for the admission of California exactly as she presents herself, with her boundaries precisely as they here before us, and we were ourselves to prescribe bounda-ries for California, we could not make any boundaries for that State better than are provided for by her own constitution. In order to make out this, I propose to say something upon the soever else may appropriately belong to the question of the boundaries of States in that quarter of the world. In short, I incline to think it expedient, quite expedient, to proceed in that course of legislation which the President has suggested

in his message transmitting the constitution of California. Mr. CASS next addressed the Senate in some remarks. the report of which, being detained for revision, did not reach us in time for this day's paper. In the course of these remarks the following explanation was made by-

Mr. CASS. On this subject, sir, I agree precisely with what was said by the distinguished Senator from Kentucky, (Mr. Clar.) I shall vote for the reference. I should vote for almost any proposition that had the appearance of bringing this country into harmony upon this perplexing question—almost any proposition that may be submitted, which has even the appearance of such a result. I do not see any possible objection to this course. It commits no one. It is simply an

ngs in this chamber with regard to the committee itself, and the benefit to result from it, I am sorry to say that I can anticipate very little good from the proposition of the Senator from Mississippi, (Mr. Footh,) relative to the resolutions prepared with great care and submitted with great good sense and excellent good feeling, such as have alway distinguished the Senator from Tennessee, (Mr. Bell.) For myself, I am not prepared to say what my views will be upon this whole matter. They are not yet formed. I say merely that this course holds out one hope the more, and is therefore well worthy of adoption. So far as respects the proposition connected with Texas, I am myself prepared to consider it in a spirit of fairness and liberality. The honorable Senator from Tennessee (Mr. Bell) said that a doubt has been suggested with respect to the disposition of the Senate, and say that I can anticipate very little good from the proposition suggested with respect to the disposition of the Senate, and perhaps of the country, to carry into effect the Texas guaranties. I believed that the gentleman was wholly in error. I am sorry to find, from various indications here, that he was

I am sorry to find, from various indications here, that he was not. For myself, without going into the general question at all, I am prepared to say that as long as I have a vote to give, I will faithfully carry out the spirit of the articles of annexation, and I will not look behind their guaranties. I will abide by them, and I am prepared at all times to say so.

But, however this proposition may terminate, I think the country is under lasting obligation to the Senstor from Mississippi for his efforts to settle the existing difficulties.

While he has proved himself two to his own section of the while he has proved himself true to the whole country.

He has stood up manfully for the rights of the South, but he stood up manfully for the rights of the South, but h has stood up also for the obligations of the constitution. And I must say, also, that I have seldom seen an instance of greater moral courage than has been displayed by him. The distinguished Senator from South Carolina occupies, we all know, a high position in the country; and from the zeal, and energy, and ability with which he has long advocated the cause of the South, he has almost rendered himself the representative of Southern opinions. When, in the name of that section of country, he advanced claims which, if persis ed in, would have presented insurmountable obstacles to the ami-cable adjustment of these difficulties, the Senator from Mississippi came forward to disavow the sentiments thus advanc-ed. He came as a messenger of peace, to pour oil upon the troubled waters. He deserves the gratitude of the country

troubled waters. He deserves the gratitude of the country for this noble effort. I must confess my own impressions sgreed with the impressions of the honorable Senator from Mississippi. I thought the speech of the Senator from South Carolina was calculated to produce the most unfavorable results.

I listened, Mr. President, with great regret to the speech of that distinguished Senator, (Mr. Calroun.) I am not going to criticise it. My great respect for that gentleman will prevent me from doing it. I will merely say that there was a strange collection of facts, as well as a strange collection of facts, as well as a strange collection of the speech of the most disingenuous portions of the speech of the honorable Senator from New York, (Mr. Sewarn)—which itself was one of the most disingenuous I have ever heard—he speaks of "slavery having a reliable and accommodating ally in a party of the free States," and he says he bears witness to its fidelity to the interests of slavery."

Now, I ask the Senator from New York if he believes there are more in this Senate from the North whose course is influ-Carolina was calculated to produce the most unfavorable results.

I listened, Mr. President, with great regret to the speech of that distinguished Senator, (Mr. Carnour.) I am not going to criticise it. My great respect for that gentleman will prevent me from doing it. I will merely say that there was a strange collection of facts, as well as a strange collection of them, and that these were followed by strange conclusions. I think, Mr. President, I may ray, and I imagine this feeling is general in the Senator, that a sombre hee pervaded this in the Senator addresses a question to whole speech, in consequence of its being prepared in the light of heaven, and had he felt the brozes.

I istened, Mr. President, with great regret to the speech as well and accommodate and in a violation; that the very endoating ally in a party of the free States," and he says he effect of some what is likely to be the effect of it? What would be the constitutional amendment program who are associated with him in the high duties which belong to this position?

Mr. President, I have demonstrated, originated in the last Presidential is likely to be the effect of it? What would be the constitutional amendment program with the senator has denied that a violation of the constitution and discression upon this point, I am ready is a man in this Senate from the North whose course is influenced by his fidelity to alwery? and if he does not, what I have to save of the sovereignty of the States. Whenever the Senator choses to go into a discussion upon this point, I am ready to the raising of a committee for the purpose of preparing some to choose to go into a discussion upon this point, I am ready is a man in this Senator man in this Senator from New York if he believes there is alwed the constitution and discretion; and is a violation of the constitution and discretion; and is a violation of the constitution and discretion; and is a violation of the constitution and discretion; and the senator has denied that the senator has denied that it is

blowing upon him, I am sure his remarks would not have been as gloomy, nor the results as desponding. We have all felt this, sir, and I know how to sympathize with it.

I repeat that I am not going to criticise the speech of the honorable Senator; but there was one expression, I remember, which grated harshly upon my ear. He denominated Washington the illustrious southerner? Not the renowned warrior—not the eminent statesman—not the distinguished citizen—not the great American—not the beloved Virginian warrior—not the eminent statesman—not the distinguished citizen—not the great American—not the beloved Virginian—but the illustrious southerner. Our Washington—the Washington of our whole country—receives in this Senate the epithet of "Southerner," as if the glory of his name and fame could be divided or assigned to a single section of his beloved country; as if that great man, whose distinguished characteristic was his attachment to his country, and his whole country, which was so well known, and who, more than any one, deprecated all sectional feeling and all sectional action, loved Georgia better than he loved New Hampshire, because he happened to be born on the southern bank of the Potomac. I repeat, sir, that I heard with great pain that expression from the distinguished Senator from South Carolina.

I heard the disavowal of the honorable Senator from Mississippi (Mr. Foors) with the more gratification, because it was followed by an explanation from the Senator from South Carolina, (Mr. Calboun,) which, though it did not relieve my apprehensions, certainly diminished them. If the impression which I, as well as many others, received respecting the nature of these propositions was correct, the handwriting was already upon the wall. "God hath numbered thy kingdom and finished it," announced with no more certainty to the wondering king of Babylon the destruction of this empire and the termination of his life, than would those propositions, if the continuance of our Union depended upon their adoption have announced that "God hath numbered our republic and finished it." To what new Medes and Persians we should have been delivered, is known only to Him who holds in his hands the fate of nations. -not the great American-not the beloved Virgin

sians we should have been delivered, is known only to Him who holds in his hands the fate of nations.

We have been three months here, and what have we done Nothing. We have not passed a single law of the least national importance. We have occupied the whole time in the discussion of this question, and no practical result has been attained; and present appearances do not indicate that such a result is near. But, though we have done nothing, we have ascertained that some things cannot be done. Wilmot provise can be passed through this Congres. That measure is dead. It is the latest, and I hope it is the last, attempt that will be made to interfere with the right of self government within the limits of this republic. I think we may also say that no Missouri compromise line can pass, and that no one expects or desires that it should pass.

Mr. President, what was the compromise line? Allow me to read the law which established it:

to read the law which established it:

"Sec. S. And be it further enacted, That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, not included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall be and is hereby converted to the property of the United States. I hold that I can do so in no effectual way by going alone and independently; and, therefore, in the discharge of my duties, I ally myself to such a party as I find most approximating to the principles converted that I expectation. I will do the Whig party

Now, sir, what is this provision? It is intervention north of the line of 36 deg. 30 min., and non-intervention south of that line. Sir, there is not one Southern Senator on this floor, nor one Southers member of the other Heuse, nor indeed a Southern man who understands the subject, who

of non-intervention is taken away by it at once. Why, sir, putting out of view the constitutional objections to such an arrangement, it gives the South nothing, while it prohibits the people north of 36° 30′ from exercising their own will upon the subject. The true doctrine of non-intervention leaves the whole question to the people, and does not divide their right of decision by a parallel of latitude. If they choose o have slavery north of that line, they can have it.

Mr. CALHOUN, (in his seat.) We are very competen

judge of that matter ourselves. Mr. CASS. Is there a Senator on this floor who would accept of a proposition to apply the principle of non-intervention to a part of the territory, leaving to the people of the other portion to do as they please? No, sir; there is not a Southern Senator here who would vote for it. I will tell you from New York is going out of it, I do not believe in here. what would be supported, for it has already been announced—a progress at all. No, sir. My object is to support the con-law declaratory, mandatory, or permissory, for the establishment of slavery south of the line of 36° 30′. The distinguished and happiness. claration that slavery does now exist, or that it shall exist, or may exist south of a certain line; but I take it for granted

Mr. FOOTE. Permit me freely to say that I would n onstitution. I was not convinced by the argument of the Senator from South Carolina of the necessity or expediency of going further than that. I rely with entire confidence upon our rights under the constitution, and the treaty by which the Territories were acquired. I ask for no legislation upon the subject, but simply that the whole matter be let alone.

was about to say that what the law is, is a question for the ecision of the judiciary. But what the law shall be, it be longs to the legislative department to declare. If we have power to pass a law declaring the existence of slavery, which is to be attended with any practical result, we necessarily pos-sess jurisdiction over the whole subject-matter. We have the same power to pass a mandatory law, commanding the existsame power to pass a mandatory law, commanding the existence of such a result. I do not see any possible objection to this course. It commits no one. It is simply an instruction to a committee to inquire into what can be done. It does not suspend the operation of the Senate at all. Its discussion, its debates, its votes, will go on, as though this question had not been submitted to a committee. It is one chance more for terminating this fearful controversy. I agree, too, with the Senator from Kentucky, that my hopes are not strong as to any favorable result to grow out of this committee. The chances have been much diminished by the vote taken on yesterday. If that vote contained any indication of the feelings in this chamber with regard to the com-

Well, then, Mr. President, if these things are imp if they cannot be done, it remains to inquire what it is in our

power to do. My own opinion is, sir, that we should take up the bill for the recapture of fugitive slaves, reported by the Judiciary Committee. I am disposed to suspend all our discussions, and to lay aside all other business, with a view to act upon that bill without unnecessary delay, and to pass it in such form as may be acceptable to a majority of this body. That is a point upon which the South feels most acutely, and in regard to which it has the most serious cause of complaint. I have heard but one man in this body deny the existence of this evil, or the justice or pecessity of providing an algorithm

The act of 1793 provided that the State magistrates in the various cities and counties of the Union should carry that law into effect. This provision has been since rendered nugatory, as these officers will not now act, and consequently the judg of the United States alone have jurisdiction over the subject. They are not enough for that purpose, and the law, therefore, requires an amendment. I, for one, am willing to take up the subject, and provide the necessary means of carrying the provision of the constitution into full effect. Such a procedure would have the very best effect upon the South at this time. It would be a pledge of our sincerity and of our desire to do justice to that great section of our common country. If I understood the Senator from New York, (Mr. SEWARD, he intimated his belief that it was immoral to carry into effect the provision of the constitution for the recepture of fugitive slaves. That, sir, is a very strange view of the duties of a Senator in this body. No man should come here who believes that ours is an immoral constitution-no man sho come here and, by the solemn sanction of an cath, promise t support an immoral constitution. No man is compelled to take an oath to support it. He may live in this country and believe what he chooses with regard to the constitution; he has no right as an honest man to seek office, and obtain it, and then talk about its being so immoral to fulfil its obligations. It is the duty of every man, who has sworn to support the constitution, fairly to carry its provisions into effect; and no man can stand up before his fellow-citizens and maintain any other doctrine, whatever reasons he may urge in its vin-

be driven into personal altercations by personal allegations addressed to me, or by any interrogatories. I acknowledge the patrictism and the wisdom of every member of this bedy. I never have assailed that of any member in any instance. When my own is assailed, I stand upon my own position. My life and my acts shell speak for me, and I shall not be my according to the message of the meet this that I reminded the Senate and the world—and rightly reminded them—that Washington was an illustrious My life and my acts shell speak for me, and I shall not be my

Northern democracy were the natural allies of slavery? He never said so.

Mr. CASS. I will not touch upon that question; but I will ask the Senator from New York in relation to another young that is, if he meant it in the sense which to one was intended as a commendation for their attachm of to constitutional principles—the other as a stur upon a great party.

Mr. SEWARD. I had no intention to cast represent or reflection upon any member of this body. The remark was a general one, in relation to a general fact. I only as leave to say that this is my view of the political organization of the two parties of this country, and that it is the support, the tration, honestly given—given with patriotic motives no doubtby the party to which I referred in my remarks, to the institution of slavery in the South, that constitutes its tower of strength; and that, on the other hand, the party to which I belong is a party more identified with the progress of the sentiment of freedom or emancipation in the North, and therefore it is weaker in its alliances in the South.

I again disavow, and I always shall disavow, that I intended to the constitution, it would be fatal to the country.

Mr. CALHOUN. Certainly, it would, in the end, be

I again disavow, and I always shall disavow, that I intended the motives that govern me. I have no reason to question and I never do question, the motives of others with whom

Mr. DAWSON. I understood the Senator from New York that these were the sentiments that are held by the party to which he belongs. I want to know, now, if he claims to belong to the Whig party? If he does, it will be known to every true and proper Whig that I do not belong known to every true and proper Whig that I do not belong to his party; and I hope that when he speaks for the party to which he belongs, he will not put under his banner the Whig party of the United States—the conservative party of this country-together with the Democratic party, whom I admit to be conservative also.

Mr. SEWARD. I will not detain the distinguished Sens-

tor from Michigan by categorical replies to the questions of the honorable Senator from Georgia. I speak for myself, and such a party as I find most approximating to the principles and sentiments that I entertain. I will do the Whig party the justice, or rather the injustice to say, that I have been member of it the whole of my active life; and I will do it the great disservice of saying that, no matter what may happen, or who may put me under their ban, I shall be the last to abandon it—I shall be the last to leave it—for this reason, that would accept that line as a proper settlement of this question.

Mr. FOOTE, (in his seat.) I would not.

Mr. CASS. The whole doctrine of equal rights and other party to which I referred in the remarks which arrested tion of the distinguished Senator from Michigan. I will also do the Whig party the justice to say that its sentiout the whole country, with my own; and that I do not profess to speak for it, but I have great hopes that the Whig party, and all other parties, will ultimately come to precisely the same conclusions, which are the guiding and governing principles of my own course.

Mr. CASS, (resuming.) I was going to remark that, with respect to the creed of the Whig party or the orthodoxy of the Seriator from New York, these are matters with which I have no concern; but with respect to progress I have something to say. My progress is within the constitution.

Mr. SEWARD. (in his seat.) That is mine. Mr. CASS. The Senator from New York says that also shis object. If it is, I think he has a very strange way of that no Senator from the South would be willing to abandon the ground of non-intervention, without some provision like dity of its obligations. It scarcely would last a day if that tion of the Government. I do not say that it would be sooner vote for a Southern Wilmot proviso than I would for a Northern one. I rely, and am content to rely, upon the sown, and would ripen into a harvest of calamity as speedily as the rankest vegetation gains maturity under a tropical sun The honorable Senator from Illinois (Mr. Douglas) has the floor to day, and I do not wish to interfere with that arrangement. I have not concluded my remarks, and I would

move to postpone the further consideration of this subject until to-morrow at half-pest 12 o'clock.

Mr. CALHOUN. I have a few words to say in reply to the observations of the Senator from Michigan, and, as it is in say shall go out with his remarks. I regret very much that the state of my health does not permit me to enter fully into the argument, and that I shall be under the necessity of econ-

mising my words as well as my strength.

Mr. President, the Senator could not have heard me with more regret make the declaration to which he has alluded, than I have heard him this morning make the declaration which he has made. Sir, the Senator and myself have two distinct and different conceptions as to the mode of saving this Union. His whole course has been a course of palliatives. And, sir, of all courses, that is far the worst. might as well treat a cancer that is about striking into a vital part with palliatives, as to treat this question with palliatives. No, sir, my idea has been from the first that it was a disease that would be fatal, if not finally arrested; and I have acted upon that impression. If I am wrong, it is because the impression is wrong—and in order to arrest it, it is necessary at every stage of it to understand the real causes and progress of the disease, and the causes by which it endangers the Union. In my late speech, which the Senator has heard with such profound regret—and I am amazed that my meaning should be so utterly misunderstood by the honorable Senator from Michigan—I stated simply, and in as few words as I could, be so utterly misunderstood by the honorable Senator from Michigan—I stated simply, and in as few words as I could, what would certainly, according to my judgment, save the Union, promote conciliation, and restore harmony and good feeling throughout all sections of the Union. That was the amount of what I said. Now, I ask, can the Senator believe explaining this part of his speech, that an explanation would be attacked to the whole country. that the South is safe while one portion of the community hold entire possession of the power of the Government, to wield it for their own benefit in any manner they please, and while they seefit to interfere between the two sections of the Union? Can any man believe that the South is safe while it. I do not, at least; and, therefore, all the womler of the honorable Senator upon that point may cease. But the Senator says it is impossible to comply with the requisition of giving us a new constitutional guarantee. Well, that very

eclaration goes to show—— Mr. CASS. The honorable Senator is entirely mistaken. I certainly did not say any thing of the kind.

Mr. CALHOUN. I said in my remarks the other day

would give to the South—

Mr. CASS. The Senator will pardon me, I have not alluded to the subject of an amendment to the constitution. I was coming to it, however, and should have spoken of it before concluding my remarks. I should prefer, therefore, that the distinguished Senator from South Carolina should hear me before he undertakes to reply.

Mr. CALHOUN. I understood the argument of the Sen

ntor as leading to that.

Mr. CASS. I hope the honorable Senator will defer his emarks until to-morrow morning.

Mr. CALHOUN. I do not know that an opportunity will then be afforded me of saying what I desire to say upon this point. The Senator says that new guaranties cannot b by amendments to be made in the constitution. Sir, I insist that that is the legal and constitutional mode; it is the mode

ted out by the constitution itself. Why, who ever be-

pointed out by the constitution itself. Why, who constitution heard of such a suggestion that to amend the constitution would be treason? It shows a state of feeling existing income. tion would be treason? It shows a state of feeling existing in the mind of the Senator which, in my opinion, is inconsistent with judicious action.

I intended to branch off here, and to show that the distin hed Senator, if this Union is ever to be dissolved, will have

ally of slavery in the South was the democracy of the North.

Mr. HALE. It was Mr. Buchanan who said so.

Mr. SEWARD. I have heard the sentiment attributed to Jefferson; I remember that distinctly. However that may be, I believe it. I assail the motives of no Senator. I am not to be discentified and we are to be stigmatized as disunionists, and his message ject should be made during this intervening period of two or joint nor separate right. When we have reached this point. Southerner; he was not the less an illustrious American; but I must say that the whole proceeding here for the last fifteen years own defender here or elswhere.

Mr. FOOTE. Will the Senator allow me to ask if I am has been such that, if carried out and consummated, as it will to understand him as saying that Mr. Jefferson said that the Northern democracy were the natural allies of slavery? He end of the whole will be the holding up of Washington as a

it would be fatal to the country.

Mr. CALHOUN. Certainly, it would, in the end, b

Mr. CASS. But the honorable Senator said it must be done immediately, or it would be fatal to the interests of the

Vir. CASS. I beg the honorable Senator's pardon; it is so tated in the speech: "If the question is not now settled," say the Senator, "it is uncertain whether it can ever be settled here 9c."

Mr. CALHOUN. No, sir; that is not the language

CALHOUN. Certainly. CASS. And one of the processes by which it is be done is by amending the constitution. There were two poins stated by the honorable Senator. One was, that there ly mention this because it excited some surprise in my mind-

netion.
M. CALHOUN. Certainly.
M. CASS. That if California were admitted it would be ollowed by a dissolution of the Union.

M. CALHOUN. No, sir. I wish the Senator would

eadthe remarks I made in reference to that point.

M. CASS. I will read them, sir, with pleasure. "If the question is not now settled, it is uncertain whether due the question to submission or resistance. If you remain silnt, you will compel us to infer what you intend. In that care, California will become the test question."

Mr. CALHOUN. Read on; read the whole. Mr. CASS. I will, sir.

"If you admit her, under all the difficulties that oppose her armission, you compel us to infer that you intend to exclude us from the whole of the acquired territories, with the intention of destroying irretrievably the equilibrium between the two sections We would be blind not to perceive, in that case, that your real objects are power and aggrandizement, and fatuated not to act accordingly."

Now, is there a Senator here who does not know what that means? I do not affirm that it is objectionable to propose an amendment to the constitution. Far from it; that is one of the most harmless things in the world. But the admission of a test question, and it went to my heart's core when I heard question-if such was the sentiment of the South-the Union consider almost impossible. I do not say that amendments may not be made, but it should only be done under the pressure of extreme cases and extreme difficulties; for, if we commence to make changes and alterations, he who is the Ruler of Nations alone knows what changes may be made, and wha

Sort of a Government this will become.

In commenting on the honorable Senator's remarks, I have connected these two subjects, the amendment of the constitution now or at a reasonable time, and the point that was made by him that the admission of California was to be a tes

Mr. CALHOUN. I must say there has been a strong dismisconstrue my expressions—and plain expressions they are. The Senator says I asserted that a dissolution of the Union would follow the admission of California. I did not assert that. I stated that it ought to be considered a test question but I leave it to my constituents to determine what course they will take. Let the gentleman give the words I used, and I am willing to stand by them; but he must not expect me to be responsible for his interpretation of them. Well, in regard to the word "now," I did not intend to be understood as asserting that the amendment must be made instanter, bu that an indication should be given now that such amend the ordinary process.

Mr. FOOTE. I hope the honorable Senator from Illinoi will allow me to occupy the floor a few moments. He will see that I have been assailed by the honorable Senator from South Carolina, who undertakes this morning to express surprise at my course in regard to the position that has been ta-ken by him. But, sir, there is not a Northern press that did not understand the speech of the honorable Senator precisely as I understood it. There is not a Southern man in the other House who does not understand it as I do. Yet the honorable Senator is surprised that I, a friend of his, should take be given that would be satisfactory to the whole country. But I must say that his explanation on that occasion was no satisfactory to me; nor is the explanation which he has now

made entirely so.

I understood the honorable Senator as frankly avowing that in that speech he intended to make a new issue; and this he has done, sir, without consulting other Southern gentlemen who were equally interested in this contest with himself and who were entitled to be consulted before any such issue was made. This issue, sir, is unknown to the State which I represent, it has not been made known to any part of the South; and, with all due respect for the honorabl must say, without attributing to him any thing unkind, that I think he acted indiscretly and unjustly in making this important movement without first having conferred with his Southern ethren. For one, I felt that a noose had been put around my neck when I was asleep, without my consent having been antecedently obtained to such a serious personal liberty. I assert that neither the people whom I in part represent here, nor myself, have had the least notice that such a movement as this was to be attempted; nor has the honorable Senator neretofore ever so darkly hinted his intention to originate this new, grave, and most perplexing question. And under what circumstances is the proposition to amend the constitution now brought forward? The Senator has had numerous opportunities for offering any amendment he might choose to offer No man is acquainted with the constitutional mode of pro-Senator ever effered any such amendment, or indicate any disposition to offer any amendment for the purpose of providing additional security for the South? The Nashville Convention will assemble in about two months, and if this contest shall then be still geing on, if terms of compromise shall not then have been sgreed upon, and if this excitement shall continue to spread and increase in intensity in the interolina before them—a speech as well matured and digested as any that has ever been delivered in this body, in which he inany that has ever been delivered in this body, in which he introduces this new issue—what is likely to be the effect of it? What would be the constitutional amendment proposed? We all know that the Senator has denied that any compromise can be made; and he is even opposed to the raising of a committee for the purpose of preparing some measure of adjustment; and he must know that in the course of the next two or three months the Nashville Convention will have the whole subject before them for final decisions on proposed and the subjects referred through those petitions.

three months; suppose no plan of compromise to have been agreed upon, and the Nashville Convention had met, and this new issue had been submitted to them—taking into consideration also the great influence of the Senator from South Carolinalikelihood be adopted by the Convention? And, as it is known to be impossible to make that amendment at the present time, any one must clearly see, and none more so than the Senator from South Carolina himself, that the effect, whether intended o not, would be to bring about a dissolution of the Union? I be lieve it, sir, and every man must believe it. I admit that the Se nator's motives are patriotic and proper; but it is not becoming in him to get up here, after the explanation which I made the other day, and express surprise that I should place upon his language an interpretation of which he says it does not admit, but which all disinterested persons will decide to be the only interpretation which can be reasonably affixed to it. No man nator's motives are patriotic and proper ; but it is not bec is more devoted to the South, none more willing to incur re-sponsibility of every kind for it than I am; and I will not admit the right of any man to make a new issue for the people whom I represent—an issue which I conceive puts the Union in peril, whether so intended or not, and subjects the cause

With these remarks, and returning my sincere thanks to the Senator from Illinois for his courtesy, I yield the floor.

Mr. CALHOUN. I cannot permit the observations of the Senator from Mississippi to pass without a remark. The Senator, in his ardor, often infers that which has no foundation. as opposed to the raising of any committee.

Mr. FOOTE. Has not the Senator told me distinctly that

ne was opposed to my motion? Has he not urged me not to persevere in pressing it for adoption? Has he not voted against taking it up for consideration? These surely are

Mr. CALHOUN. The Senator has not told the whole I am opposed to raising a committee at the present-time. I have uniformly held the language that when the subjects had been debated and regularly gone through, if any gentlemen desired to attempt to effect a compromise, I would throw no impediment in the way. I so informed the Senator himself. I appeal to my colleague, and to all my friends about me, if such has not been invariably my language? Now, I trust this misconception will always hereafter be avoided.

Mr. FOOTE. I never intended to renew the contest, and never would have renewed it with the honorable Senator, if he had not, by adverting to it, drawn me into it accidentally.

Mr. CALHOUN. Well, the Senator complains that
did not consult with him before making the speech which
made the other day. Why, I never consulted with any Se nator in my life when about to make a speech. I make my speeches for myself, upon my own responsibility. But if I am about to move a resolution, I consult with my friends as to the propriety of offering it. I would deem it derogatory to myself if I could not express my views without consulting with other Senators, even the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. FOOTE. I did not say that the Senator from South

Carolina ought to have consulted with me in regard to his speech; it would be presumptuous in me to say that the Sensult me; but I said that he was bound tor was bound to cor to consult those with whom he acted before making a new issue—an issue, as I consider, involving the Union in seriou While up I will state one effect of the honorable Senator's speech, as already developed. Upon its being received at St. Louis, a large public meeting was held, at which re-solutions were adopted, declaring that the charges of the Sen-ator from Missouri against the Senator from South Carolina, in regard to disunion, were made good. Is not that weaken

Mr. CALHOUN. We will hear more about the proceed ings of the meeting at St. Louis when we receive Did they not act upon the telegraphic report? Mr FOOTE. I believe they did.

Mr. CALHOUN. I disavow all telegraphic reports.
Wait—wait! Do not be so impatient! I must admonish ny ardent friend ; he is too impatient. Mr. FOOTE, (in his seat.) I am but imitating the exam

Mr. CALHOUN. I am considerably older than the Senator, and am therefore rather more entitled to give advice.

Mr. President, this is a common trick, to send out telegraphic accounts and letters as soon as possible, or perhaps in ad vance, and have a movement made without waiting to see the end. I think my friend—for I must call him my friend, notwithstanding we differ on this occasion—is the last mar who ought to complain of a movement being made without his being consulted. He makes movements himself very frequently without consultation with others—though I will do him the justice to say not against freedom of debate.

Mr. FOOTE, (in his seat.) Oh no!
Mr. CALHOUN. If he does not, he gives his opinio very freely; his impulsive character leads him to do that. Now, sir, he says that he knows the opinion of all the Senators on this floor, except two or three, in regard to this committee. Well, I may say that I have spoken to at least half a dozen Senators, and every one of them has condemned it.

Mr. FOOTE. I know the opinion of a number of the Senators, but there are some gentlemen here whose opinions I care nothing about, and whose co-operation I do not want.

Mr. CALHOUN. The gentleman is far more familiar and

habit of consulting with Senators than I am. ---Mr. FOOTE, (in his seat.) I am on good terms with

very body.

Mr. CALHOUN. Well, I am not on good terms with those who are for cutting our throats. After the avowal that was made by the Senator from New York that there is a power higher than the constitution—a power which overrules the constitution, and which would justify the North in crushing t, I am not the man to hold social intercourse with him.

Mr. FOOTE, (in his seat.) I think I shall have to give

him up.
Mr. CALHOUN. I will say good morning, or I will shake hands with him, if he thinks proper to offer his hand, but these are the only terms of intercourse I will hold with those The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the mo-tion to postpone the subject and make it the special order for half-past 12 o'clock to morrow.

Mr. DAVIS, of Mississippi. I hope it will be postponed to a later hour. We have reports to make and petitions to present, which will occupy all the morning hour. I will

ot make any metion, however.

Mr. CASS. I shall be glad of an opportunity to conclude my remarks to-morrow morning without interfering with the Mr. DAVIS, of Mississippi. If the honorable Senator

from Illinois will allow me a few minutes—
Mr. DOUGLAS. I have given way half a dozen times already; but if the honorable Senator will make the request,

Mr. DAVIS, of Mississippi. I hope some later hour will be assigned, for we have reports to make and other business which should be attended to, and which might be transacted in the morning hour. I do not intend to consume the time of the Senator from Illinois, or now to enter into any discussion or argument, but merely to say that when the Senator th Carolina delivered his speech, I did not understand it as it has been construed in the debate of this morning. The Senator said that to finally and forever settle this question, certain things were necessary, which the North could easily provide. This I believed. These certain things were, he said, to do justice, by conceding to the South an equal right in the acquired Territory—so I think; to do her duty by causing the stipulations relative to fugitive slaves to be faithfully fulfilled to cease the agitation of the slave question; these I think necessary to ensure tranquillity; to provide, by these I think necessary to ensure tranquility; to provide, by amendment of the constitution, for a restoration to the South of the power she possessed of protecting herself before the equilibrium between the sections was destroyed. Events, however unwillingly, have forced upon me the conviction that such additional protection, if not now, will become necessary. What that amendment should be, I am not provided to are. What the Sanata for a South Contract of the Sanata for the Sanata prepared to say. What the Senator from South Carolina de sired, I did not nor do I now know. He says several were had the power to protect itself, by its numerical strength, in the Legislature of the General Government. But if we reach a period in the progress of the country when one section cannot protect itself against the manifested, settled hostility of another—when the rights of the minority become subject to thought of. When the constitution was made, each section not protect use against the mantiested, settled hostility of another—when the rights of the minority become subject to the will of a self-sustaining, powerful majority, then it becomes requisite that the compact shall be so amended as to give that protection to the minority which it was originally designed to sflord to all. Whether that time has come now opinions and knowledge I always highly respect, has said this morning that the Missouri compromise cannot be extended, cannot be applied to the remaining Territories. Here, then,

(See the fourth page.)

joint nor separate right. When we have reached this point, it is time that there should be an amendment of a compact the equal operation of which seems to be at an end.

nisrepresent the statement of the Senator from Michigan; but think he has not understood him aright. He said that he compromise is not such, as it interfered with the Northern part, although it did not South. He did not state his oppotion to the compromise, but said only that it was not

intervention.

Mr. DAVIS, of Mississippi. I understood the honorable
Senator from Michigan as standing upon the ground of nonintervention. If we could have that, it would give the South
the most we have claimed—that is, an equal right to go into
all the Territories, all property being alike protected. In default of this, I have said that I would take the Missouri compromise line, and that was my ultimatum. But when we see the Senate, by a vote this morning, overturn the doctrine of n of the Senator from Michigan, and when the Senator from Michigan comes forward and declares that the Missouri compromise cannot be extended, it is quite time that the South should look to something besides Congressional

Mr. BUTLER. I shall speak more for testimony than any

thing else.

Mr. DAVIS, of Mississippi. I certainly did not intend to say that Northern votes had decided the question of referring the petitions this morning. Here is my friend from New York, the Bayard of the North, (Mr. DICKINSON,) who has stood by us on this, as on all occasions. I regret much more deeply that this vote should have succeeded by the aid of Southern men, and this but heightens my estimate of the

Mr. BUTLER. I will occupy the attention of the Senate with but a very few words. When the motion was made by the Senator from Mississippi to raise this committee, I opposed it, without having consulted with any one as to the opposed it, without having consulted with any one as to the propriety of that opposition; and if any Senator is responsible for decided opposition to the raising of that committee, I am the man. I did not make that opposition with the view of defeating the raising of a committee, or to defeat, as might be implied by opposing such a motion, any adjustment of this question. I have spoken to my colleague on this point and I have always understood him to indicate what is my own views of the matter—that this discussion should be my own views of the matter-that this discussion should be allowed to go on, and that ultimately a committee of this kind should be raised for the purpose of adjusting the subject

THURSDAY, MARCH 14, 1850.

Mr. CASS. Before I resume my remarks at the point where I left off yesterday, I have a question to put to the Senator from Mississippi, who (said Mr. Cass, looking round) I am sorry to see is not in his seat. I regret he is not, but I will postpone the reference I designed making to him until the close of my remarks, when perhaps he may be here. I spoke to him this morning on the subject, and therefore he is perfectly aware of the question I wish to put to him.

is perfectly aware of the question I wish to put to him.

I was remarking yesterday, when I resigned the floor, that
there were certain things we could not accomplish, and others that with equal certainty we might take for granted we could do. Among the latter was the bill providing for the recapture of fugitive slaves; and another object which I trust will be accomplished is the providing of a government for the new Territories. I think it essential to calm this agitation, and so long as these Territories are left without a government. so long will the present state of things continue, and this

so long will the present state of things continue, and this agitation be kept up, which is so harassing to the tranquillity and dangerous to the peace of the Union.

That a law may be passed authorizing the people of the Territories to govern themselves, without any Wilmot proviso being attached to it, is my wish and my hope. I am not going to say much upon the propriety of the admission of California, for the remarks that have fallen from my friend from Illinois (Mr. Douglas) are so well expressed and so pertinent, that they preclude the necessity of entering anew into that topic at any length.

that topic at any length.

I understood the distinguished Senator from South Carolina to admit, yesterday, that he did make it expressly a test question. As I remarked before, it was this demand of the conorable Senator that excited in my mind serious apprehen-Senate knew, that if this was made a test question upon which the fate of this republic depended, that fate was sealed. trust I may be permited to say, with regard to this issue, that it appears to me not only unwise but useless, for the reasons so well expressed by the Senator from Illinois in his speech

No gentleman on this floor, from the North or the South, the East or West, will rise in his seat and say he believes that slavery will ever go into the Territory of California-no one can believe this for a moment. What, sir, would the Southern States gain by sending California, after she has come here with a constitution in her hands, back again, to undergo the process of a Territorial Government, and then to return here a year hence, every year perhaps for and then to return here a year hence, every year pernaps to ten years, and revive the question anew? What would be gained by it for any portion of the country? Is it a battle worth fighting? Is the object to be accomplished really worth the contest? Sir, there is no object that can be accomplished by such a course of procedure. Under existing circumstances, what kind of Territorial Government can be established. lished there? Can any Territorial Government be established? And is this unsettled state of things to go on from year to year, perpetuating the bitter feelings that have already sprung up between one section of the Union and the other?

But I have said also that such a course is unwise ; and I trust my Southern friends will pardon me for saying that they are

making a very unwise issue.

Sir, we cannot stand before the country, and before the world, and object to the admission of California on the ground that has been urged. The objection is not to her boun though that topic has been much debated. The honorable Senator from Illinois, whom we have all just heard with so much pleasure, has discussed the subject so ably and clearly that it would be a work of supererogation in me to renew it. I myself was at first startled at the boundary claimed, stretching as it does along the coast of the Pacific one thousand miles as much greater extent than any one State in the Union ought to possess. As the Senator from Illinois and myself are together in the same house, we have conversed repeatedly upon this subject, and with an earnest desire to reduce these boundaries, if the nature of the country would permit. With boundaries, it the nature of the country would permit. With this view he examined various lines proposed—the parallel of 36° 30′, and the southern range of mountains—to ascertain what proper limitation could be imposed upon the new State. But he ultimately became satisfied that no change could be made. The country between the ocean and the sea is a narrow one, and east of the mountains is a desert, and in proportion to its extent the quantity of arable land is small. Be the boundaries as they may, it is not probable that its population will ever be as great as that of some of the other St this Union. And if its southern boundary were to stop at the mountains, there would be left between them and the Mexican possessions a small district of country, which would have remain for an indefinite period, perhaps forever, in a colo

ground as an objection to the admission of California. That objection rests upon her present position and mode of applicawithout passing through a territorial process, and comes here of her own accord and asks admission into this Union. This ground of objection cannot be maintained in this age of the world, before the people of this country, and I may add the

people of Christendom.

One hundred thousand American citizens on the shores of the Pacific are, or might be, so far as depends upon our action, in a perfect state of anarchy. Three sessions of Congress have intervened since these new Territories came under the jurisdiction of the United States, and you have not legis-lated for them in a single instance, except to make provision for the collection of revenue at their ports. All other duties devolving upon you as legislators for the entire Union have been totally neglected. You have used them only for the purpose of collecting taxes from them. Are we, sir, to be told in the middle of the nineteenth century that these people under such circumstances have no right to form a Government? No man can stand up here and assert this doctrine, and expect to receive the support of the people of this country. My f.iend from Illinois (Mr. Douglas) correctly said that the right of government, of some kind of government, was a right inherent in all people upon the face of the earth; and that the establishment of civil and social order was among the first necessities of men entering into civil society. Without government they cannot exist; and you have provided no government for the people of California, and it is now contended that they have no right to provide one for them-selves. You have neglected your own duty towards them for the last three sessions, and now, when they come here ac-